

**Report of the
Ittarnisalirijiit Conference
on Inuit Archaeology
Igloolik, February 7-9, 1994**

Ittarnisalirijiit Katimajiit

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Introduction

The Ittarnisalirijit Conference on Inuit Archaeology, held at Igloolik from February 7th to 9th 1994, brought together Inuit archaeology and culture specialists of all ages from across the Canadian Arctic. Their main purpose was to discuss ways of making archaeology more acceptable and useful to Inuit, and to produce a set of guidelines regarding archaeology in the Inuit homeland.

The conference, the first of its kind, was the idea of three Inuit: Gary Baikie, who has worked in archaeology and is executive director of the Torngâsuk Cultural Centre in Nain, Labrador; George Qulaut, who dealt extensively with scientists during his fourteen years working at the Igloolik Research Laboratory; and Deborah Kigjugalik Webster, an arctic archaeologist with Parks Canada.

In the spring of 1993 the three were invited by the Smithsonian Institution to attend a conference honouring a number of distinguished arctic archaeologists, all over eighty years old. Over the course of the three day conference they were reminded that, while a great deal of valuable archaeological work has been done in the arctic, in the past it has often excluded Inuit or involved them only as guides. Inuit have seen sites disturbed and artifacts taken south where they are inaccessible to most of the people whose history they represent. Southerners, studying artifacts away from the places they were used and without consulting Inuit experts, have occasionally been inaccurate in their interpretations of Inuit history.

A few archaeologists do involve Inuit in their work, consulting with elders and helping young people learn about their history.

While conferences have been held for years by others on the subject, Inuit archaeology and history specialists had never come together to discuss archaeology in their land. Their experience at the Smithsonian archaeology conference inspired the three Inuit to organize a conference that would give Inuit elders, young people, and others with a special interest in archaeology a chance to meet and discuss archaeology in their homeland. They formed a volunteer organizing committee, adding three more people: Luke Suluk, a culture and history specialist from Arviat; Tommy Weetaluktuk, assistant archaeologist with the Avataq Cultural Institute; and John Bennett, then editor of *Inuktitut* magazine.

After consultation with elders the name "Ittarnisalirijit" was chosen for the conference. It could be translated as: "those who deal with the distant past, the time of the legends." It refers to the very essence of Inuit culture, and implies an obligation to protect it. This word has great significance for those who truly understand its meaning.

The organising committee (Ittarnisalirijit Katimajit) was able to obtain funding, and Torngâsok Cultural Institute administered the finances. Igloolik was chosen as the location because of its history of community involvement in archaeology.

Youth and elder delegates were invited from each of the six regions. Several Inuit history and culture specialists were also invited, as well as a small number of south-

ern archaeologists. Jack Anawak, Member of Parliament for Nunatsiaq, attended.

The community of Igloolik supported the conference wholeheartedly. The mayor, Louis Tapardjuk, took charge of organizing accommodation and evening entertainment, including a community dance. The delegates stayed with local families, who gave them a warm welcome and made them feel at home. Those from areas where the Inuit language and culture are not as strong were pleased to be in a community where Inuktitut is used every day by people of all ages, and where drum dancing and other traditions continue.

The conference was open to the public, and many local people attended. At Ataguttaaluk School, students who had participated in the annual archaeology field school at Igloolik set up a display of artifacts and photographs of the summer course, which teaches young people practical archaeological skills and involves elders in the interpretation of artifacts. The Inullariit Society, the Igloolik elders' group, took particular interest in the conference and held a special meeting with the guest elders.

The northern television, radio, and print media did an excellent job of keeping Inuit across the arctic informed about the conference.

The conference had two main goals. One was to provide an opportunity for Inuit archaeology and history specialists from across the north to meet and exchange information, and the other was to produce a list of guidelines for archaeological work in the Inuit homeland.

The opinions expressed reflected the experiences of people of different ages from different regions. Elders from Labrador felt that archaeology is harmful as it disturbs sites best left alone, and that it should be stopped entirely. Others, including elders and young people who had been involved in archaeology, felt that it can be

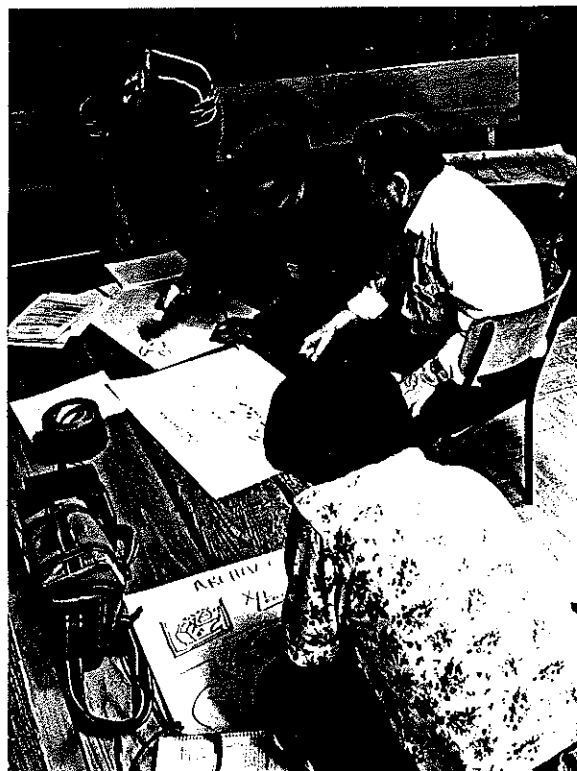


all photos by Naudia Lennie

useful to Inuit if it is done properly. A young Inuvialuk said that so much Inuit language and culture has been lost in the Western Arctic that the information gained from archaeology has become essential if young people are to learn about their history. A young person from the Keewatin said his ambition is to become an archaeologist. Luke Suluk and Deborah Webster spoke of their productive work with elders at sites near Arviat and Qamanittuaq (Baker Lake).

As delegates learned more about each other's experiences over the course of the conference it became clear that Inuit can benefit from archaeology when they participate in it and have control over how it is practiced in their land. Young people learn new skills and gain deeper understanding of their own culture, elders have the satisfaction of passing their knowledge on to young people; and when the results of the research are shared with the people of the local community they have the opportunity to learn more about their own history. When the community works in partnership with archaeologists on a project from beginning to end and Inuit expertise is used, the quality of the archaeological research improves. This benefits everyone.

With this in mind, and after much discussion, the conference delegates produced a list of guidelines and recommendations for archaeology in the Inuit homeland.



Participants

Western Arctic

Elijah Allen, elder, Inuvik
Deborah Webster, (organizer) Yellowknife
Naudia Lennie, youth, Yellowknife

Kitikmeot

Uriash Pukiqnaq, elder, Uqsuqtuuq (Gjoa Haven)
Peter Kamingoak, elder, Qurluqtuuq (Coppermine)
Jennifer Maniyogina, youth, Qurluqtuuq

Kivalliq (Keewatin)

Mary Kalluak, elder, Arviat
Barnabas Piryuak, elder, Qamanittuaq (Baker Lake)
Luke Suluk (organizer) Arviat
Roy Avaala, youth, Qamanittuaq
Leo Eekakik, youth, Arviat

Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin)

Aipilik Inuksuk, elder, Igloolik
Hubert Amaroalik, elder, Igloolik
George Qulaut (organizer) Igloolik
students from the Ataguttaaluk Field School, Igloolik
Larry Okkumaluk, interpreter, Igloolik

Nunavik

Tommy Weetaluktuk (organizer) Avataq Cultural Institute, Montréal
Noah Naktairaluk, youth, Inukjuak
Jimmy Mark, interpreter, Montréal

Labrador

Winnefreda Jararuse, elder, Nain
William Onalik, elder, Hopedale
Gary Baikie (organizer) Torngâsuk Cultural Centre, Nain
Edward Flowers, youth, Nain

Archaeologists

Paul Antone, Access to Archaeology Program
Bjarne Gronnow, University of Copenhagen
Susan Rowley, Ataguttaluk Field School



Guidelines

- 1-There should be more control by Inuit throughout all stages of archaeological projects in the Inuit homeland.
- 2-Archaeology permits should be approved by the appropriate regional Inuit organization and the community.
- 3a-Archaeologists should involve local people in the projects. Priority should be given to people whose ancestors are being studied. Traditional knowledge is crucial to the understanding of Inuit history. Archaeologists should involve elders by asking them about features and artifacts, and their locations.
- 3b-People from the community should be invited to visit the site, and should be welcomed there.
- 4-Consultation with the local council, appropriate cultural group, and community, is required.
- 5-In determining where to set up camp archaeologists should follow the traditional customs of Inuit.
- 6-Do not disturb graves, human skeletal remains, or objects associated with them. These were meant to rest where they were placed. If a grave is found by an archaeologist he or she should record it and report it to the community. It should not be disturbed unless the archaeologist receives direction to do so from the community.
- 6a-Do not disturb sacred sites or objects associated with them.
- 7-The nearest community should be consulted about archaeological sites that are being destroyed by natural or human causes. The community should decide if nature should take its course or if the feature should be saved. If it is saved, the objects should be returned to a place close to the original location.
- 9-Historic or recent artifacts and sites should be treated with the same respect as older sites and artifacts.
- 10-Archaeologists should get permission from the community about collection and removal of artifacts.
- 11-It is recommended that casts be left in the community. Not all artifacts should be removed; some should be left behind.
- 12-An archaeological site should be returned to its original state as much as possible after excavation.
- 13-Reports should be translated into Inuktitut. Elders should be given credit in reports for information that they have passed on to the archaeologist.

14-Archaeologists should share their information with the community. There should be a follow-through after the project.

15-Refer to the World Archaeological Congress Code of Ethics and Human Remains Section.

Recommendations

1-Historical Societies should be formed in each community. Societies will have input into the regional museums, collection of oral histories, and overseeing archaeological projects in their areas.

2-There should be regional and community museums.

3-There should be a mechanism, such as site stewards or guides, by which local people ensure that artifacts are not taken. Rules for the protection of archaeological sites should be enforced.

4-There should be more information (pamphlets, posters, radio and television programs) about archaeological sites and regulations to improve public awareness. This will help in the protection of artifacts and sites.

5-Archaeological courses should be part of education. It is recommended that Arctic College have an archaeological department.

6-Municipalities should conduct archaeological surveys to make an inventory of sites in the area so that they will not be disturbed by development.

7-Repatriation and reburial of skeletal remains should be addressed.



World Archaeological Congress 2 Code of Ethics (Barquisimeto Venezuela, September 1990)

*as adapted to the needs of Inuit by the Ittarnisilirijiit Conference on Inuit Archaeology.
Underlining indicates modifications or additions made at the Ittarnisilirijiit Conference.*

Principles to Abide By

Conference participants agree that anyone travelling on Inuit land should abide by these ethical guidelines.

- 1-To acknowledge the importance of Inuit cultural heritage, including sites, places, objects, artifacts, human remains, to the survival of Inuit culture.
- 2-To acknowledge the importance of protecting Inuit cultural heritage to the well-being of Inuit.
- 3-To acknowledge the special importance of protecting Inuit ancestral human remains, and sites containing and/or associated with such remains, to Inuit.
- 4-To acknowledge that the important relationship between Inuit and their cultural heritage exists irrespective of legal ownership.
- 5-To acknowledge that the Inuit cultural heritage rightfully belongs to the Inuit descendants of that heritage.
- 6-To acknowledge, provide for, and recognize Inuit methodologies for interpreting, curating, managing, and protecting Inuit cultural heritage and oral tradition.
- 7-To establish equitable partnerships and relationships between archaeologists and Inuit whose cultural heritage is being investigated.
- 8-To seek, wherever possible, representation of Inuit in agencies funding or authorizing research to be certain their view is considered as critically important in setting research standards, questions, priorities, and goals.

Rules to adhere to

Members agree that they will adhere to the following rules prior to, during, and after their investigations.

- 1-Prior to conducting any investigation and/or examination, members shall with rigorous endeavour seek to define the Inuit whose cultural heritage is the subject of investigation.
- 2-Members shall negotiate with and obtain the informed consent of representatives authorised by the Inuit whose cultural heritage is the subject of investigation.

- 3-Members shall ensure that the authorised representatives of the Inuit whose culture is being investigated are kept informed during all stages of the investigation.
- 4-Members shall ensure that the results of their work are presented with deference and respect for the identified Inuit and that the dissemination of that information is carried out in a manner acceptable to them.
- 5-Members shall not interfere with and/or remove human remains of Inuit without the express consent of those concerned.
- 6-Members shall not interfere with and/or remove any artifacts or objects associated with Inuit without the express consent of those concerned.
- 7-Members shall recognize their obligations to employ and/or train Inuit in proper techniques as part of their projects, and utilize Inuit to monitor the projects.

Human Remains

- 1-Respect for mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom and tradition.
- 2-Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful, when they are known or can be reasonably inferred.
- 3-Respect for the wishes of the local community and of relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.
- 4-Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified, and other human remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.
- 5-Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.
- 6-The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science are legitimate and to be respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured.

Gary Baikie: Archaeology and Labrador Inuit

The gathering of information and artifacts from Inuit sites has been taking place for decades. Even the Moravian missionaries would collect artifacts and ship them off to museums in Germany, England, and the U.S. Along with artifacts Europeans also took Inuit to museums and displayed them. One of the more famous was a young boy named Minik who was taken to the U.S. along with other Greenland Inuit, most of whom died there. Minik grew up in the U.S., and years later while visiting a museum, discovered his father's skeleton on display. He was shocked and hurt, as he had thought that his father had been buried at the funeral Minik himself had attended. This was a turning point for him: he felt he could no longer trust the people around him and those travelling to the north.

Most people in northern Labrador still mistrust anthropologists and especially archaeologists, whom they see as grave diggers. This is a valid concern. There was a time when some people came to northern Labrador and actually robbed graves. In some cases they took all the skeletal remains, and in others just the skulls. The older Inuit saw this and protested their relatives' bones being taken, but it made no difference. To my knowledge the skeletons have never been returned and I don't know where they are being stored today.

Recently in the United States the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act was passed, but not without opposition from artifact dealers, and the museum and archaeological communities. I was not surprised to hear of this opposition. Labrador Inuit still have to face this with the Newfoundland Museum, and archaeologists.

A few years back skeletal remains of some American soldiers were found in southern Canada, and were given a full military burial. Why are aboriginal remains usually held in storage or displayed? I have yet to see native skeletal remains treated with the respect and dignity shown to non-native remains.

For too long archaeologists were allowed to dig sites in northern Labrador without our consent. Valuable information about ancient Inuit life has been taken away. We have been able to use some of it; a good example is the book Our Footprints are Everywhere which is the basis of our argument for a land claim settlement. Otherwise the information is not finding its way back to the Labrador Inuit. A vast amount of information is in the hands of non-Inuit; it has to get back to the communities in a format they can understand.

The pamphlets and videos now being produced are done as a courtesy rather than a requirement, and are not sufficient. For this and other reasons it is time the Department of Municipal and Provincial Affairs, the department responsible for the Historic Resources Act, reviews and revises the outdated Act. If this were to happen I believe Inuit concerns and involvement would change drastically. Both federal and provincial legislation should change to enhance Inuit involvement in archaeology.

One of the things that must change is an unwritten rule followed by archaeologists that "if I find a site it is understood that no one goes near it without my written permission." If this continues to be the case then one person controls the vast majority of sites in our area. We cannot and will not allow this. In a case like this you have two controlling bodies over Inuit sites, neither having our interests in mind. It is bad enough that we have to negotiate for the location of sites; it is worse if we potentially have to negotiate with a third party.

A couple of years back we heard, by chance, that a plutonium company was planning to do some surveying in and around the Kilipait Mountains. We were concerned that archaeological sites might be affected (as it turned out none were) and I immediately telephoned the Historic Resources Division. To my surprise they wouldn't tell me whether there were sites in the area concerned – the information was confidential. They were worried I would tell people the location of the sites. This disturbed me because many sites are of Inuit origin; we were being denied information about our ancestors. The Historic Resources Division is also afraid that we might dig up the sites or publish their locations, and that tourists or artifact dealers might then come in and dig them up. This may or may not happen – but I can guarantee that we are in a better position to police our sites than Historic Resources.

I have had people tell me that the plundering of sites taking place in St. Lawrence Island could happen in northern Labrador. I strongly believe it won't. We will not know until we are given at least the chance to control our past, present, and future.

The Newfoundland and Canadian governments now have to take a step forward and realize that we did not give up our ancestral grounds, property, or our ancestors' remains. Archaeologists can no longer expose or dig up our cultural property or burial sites without authorization from Labrador Inuit. The present legislation must be changed in consultation with Labrador Inuit. Our archives are on the land and in the waters of northern Labrador. Inuit site locations must not be kept from us.

Luke Suluk: Arviat Historical Society Summary of Activities 1993-94

Introduction

The Arviat Historical Society was incorporated in May 1992 as a community-based non-profit organization. It is also registered as a charitable group under Revenue Canada. Its purpose is to preserve and enhance our living culture, language, and traditions. The following are some of the objectives of the Society:

- to save and to preserve Arviat heritage including any historical buildings, archaeological sites, and archival materials including written and recorded material, and artifacts.
- to set up an Inuit traditional camp where Inuit ways can be demonstrated and as a place to hold annual summer cultural activities.

- to collect oral histories and traditions of the Arviat area in written, recorded, and visual form.
- to carry out special projects that relate to Inuit culture, history, and archaeological heritage.

The Arviat Historical Society works closely with other community groups and the Hivullinuut elders group to keep Inuit culture and traditions alive by holding various cultural activities in the community.

Projects

The Arviaq (Sentry Island) oral history project was done during the months of July and August. Elders talked about the early life on the island. Arviaq has been occupied by Paallirmiut Inuit for about 1000 years according to the qablunaat archaeologists. The human activities of the past can only be recorded by collecting oral histories. Only a few elders of Arviat now recall the former life of the historic island; one of them was Margaret Uyauperk Aniksak. It would have been too late to gather her special knowledge of Arviaq history if the interviews were not done in time, as she died shortly after the interviews. She is the grandmother of my wife Joy and mother of Mary Kalluak who is here with us in Igloodik. The older traditional sites at the island include: the two offering cairns, the healing stone, the two cousins stones, the shaman's stone, weight lifting stones, the footpath to the main offering place, and hundreds of tent rings and qajaq stands.

Annual Heritage Day/Survey and Mapping

The second annual Heritage Day was held on July 18th just outside the community of Arviat. Various traditional activities were held including the feast and the community drum dance. Next day about one hundred people made a boat trip to Arviaq for a guided tour of archaeological sites.

Following the activities, Arviat Historical Society and Parks Canada began the survey mapping of the island for one week. Each site was identified and recorded using the new global positioning technology. A map with details of each site is being produced by Parks Canada. More surveys will be done next summer for the remainder of the island and along the coast near Arviat.

Video Training

Later in August we began a six-week course video training for our three video. IBC assisted in video production training so that oral histories can be done using video. The Arviat Historical Society only has one Hi-8 video camera and has been sending the videos to IBC for editing and programming. The videos will become very valuable in the future. We try to involve as many elders as possible. Now is the time to record the special knowledge of our elders for there is not much time left. We cannot over-emphasize the importance of recording and documenting the elders' knowledge of Inuit culture. Another area that cannot wait is the Inuit way of dealing with social issues such as family life and passing on the family names. In our interviews we try to get the elders to explain all the names in the family so they are passed on to their children.

Historic Sites out on the Land

In September the Arviat Historical Society conducted helicopter trips to four of the most important sites out on the land. These sites are known by elders as special places in the Paallirmiut tradition. The helicopter was the only way to reach the sites during the short summer months because of the distance and the terrain. These special places can be described as "places of power and veneration". Some call these "sacred" sites, but this may be the wrong word to use. Such places as an offering cave or an offering stone are formal places where people would place an offering wishing for good fortune, good health in the family, or, like the one on Arviaq, a good hunting season. Paying special respect by following the custom is a good practice even today, though we live the new way of life. Just out of respect for the tradition I told my fellow workers to observe the custom by offering one of their belongings.

There are many older artifacts at these sites but Inuit custom prohibits removing them. The same respect is observed at the burial sites.

I have been dealing with archaeology for about ten years. I am not an archaeologist like the qablunaat experts using scientific analysis, but I believe in working with them in the hope that there will be more Inuit archaeologists in the future. I have promoted myself for the protection of the future, and especially the burial sites, as they should not be disturbed. Any archaeological project has to be approved by the community, and strict guidelines applied. It has to benefit the community and provide for employment and training.

I was privileged to attend the World Archaeological Congress in Venezuela in 1990 and there I met many other aboriginal people from around the world. What I found interesting was that there is a common concern when dealing with archaeology and human remains. I took part in drafting the code of ethics that archaeologists need to follow. The congress later adopted the resolution and it was to be widely distributed.

Some archaeologists try their best to abide by it and others, I am sure, ignore it completely. Following the congress I attended the symposium on archaeological heritage in Ottawa in 1991 and presented the code of ethics. The delegation, mostly of Indian people, came up with a declaration of principles applicable to their situation.

There are many archaeological sites that are yet to be identified, and many known only to Inuit elders. We want to work with the archaeologists in order for the projects to be successful. We need all the resources we can get, and especially the funding to carry out the projects. Let us begin talking together to see what would be the best way to get started.

Luke Suluk
Project Manager
Arviat Historical Society
Arviat, NWT
XOC OCO

Deborah Kigjugalik Webster: The Piqqiq Research Project

The Elders' Advisory Committee is a group of eight elders who represent people from different groups living in Baker Lake. They were asked by David Webster, formerly of Parks Canada Historic Sites, if they were interested in commemorating their people's history. The elders agreed. The Advisory Committee was then asked what place they would like to see designated as a National Historic Site. The answer was a fall caribou crossing at Piqqiq, on the Kazan River.

Research at Piqqiq was necessary to support a presentation to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. The Board will determine if the area should be designated as a National Historic Site.

Piqqiq is about eight kilometres south of the Kazan Falls. The people of this area, the Harvaqtuurmiut, depended on the caribou of the Qamanirjuaq herd for food and skins to see them through the winter. Barnabas Piryuaq, a respected elder, said: "We would not exist today if fall caribou crossings such as Piqqiq did not exist."

During the winter of 1992-93 Hattie Mannik, an oral historian from Baker Lake, conducted interviews with elders and collected stories about life in the Kazan River area. The knowledge presented in the transcripts was an important source of background information for our work at the site.

In August 1993 a team of sixteen people conducted a two week archaeology and oral history project. The Piqqiq research project recorded oral testimony about life during the period between the 1930's and the 1950's from three elders who, as children and young adults, lived during the summer and fall at Piqqiq. David Tiktaaluk, Barnabas Piryuaq, and Lucy Kownak returned to their families' former camp. Their visit was coordinated with an archaeological survey conducted by archaeologists Andrew Stewart, of the Royal Ontario Museum, and myself and Bill Fox of Parks Canada, with the help of Roy Avaala and Toby Kreelak, two young trainees from Baker Lake. The elders helped identify specific archaeological features and told us the Inuktitut terms. The archaeologists were responsible for documenting, mapping, and photographing the archaeological features. (A feature can be defined as a distinctive pattern of artifacts and/or other materials which can be recognized in or on the ground.) Mapping was accomplished using a tripod-mounted compass, and distances were calculated with measured paces. Over one hundred features were located including tent rings, caches, qajaq stands, graves, fox traps, and the impressive Utaqqivvikyuaq, a massive oval walled enclosure formed by about thirty boulders. According to the elders it was built by three men, two of whom intended to kill the third for a crime he had committed. Some of the artifacts included a possible pipe stem, musket ramrod, a snow shovel handle, a rusted metal ulu blade, a muskox-horn ladle, and an aqsaraq (pulling game) toggle. There were also tools made of quartzite: possible spear point fragments and hide scrapers. The stone tools are probably of the Taltheilei tradition dating to 2,500-200 years ago. The Taltheilei are considered ancestors of the Chipeweyans.

The research findings were reported to the people of Baker Lake in a number of ways. An archaeological report that integrates traditional knowledge of the elders

was produced and promptly translated into Inuktitut. The community has access to this report as well as the collection of oral histories. Also, three people from the Baker Lake studio of the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation were at Piqqiq to record on-site interviews for a series of programs to be aired on Television Northern Canada. The study findings were also reported through slide presentations, radio shows, and a poster display at the local school.

Consultations are under way for further research in the summer of 1994. The Elders' Advisory Committee have recommended that research continue along the caribou crossing at Itimnik, approximately fifteen kilometres upriver from Piqqiq. Oral history work, an archaeological survey, and place-name research are planned. The Piqqiq Research project was very successful and could be used as a model for archaeologists and other researchers.

Susan Rowley: The Ataguttaaluk Field School

The Ataguttaaluk Archaeology students would like to thank everyone who came to see their work at the school last night.

I would like to talk a bit about the Field School and its history. In 1987 I came to Igloolik to organize a salvage excavation at the site of Ungalujat, part of which had been bulldozed during road construction. I was well aware of some of the problems and perceptions of archaeologists as snow geese, or worse, mosquitoes – arriving in summer, removing artifacts, and leaving before the first snow. At Ungalujat young people from the community worked on the site and elders camped with us and interpreted the artifacts and the house site, playhouses, caches, and so on. Over the next few years I worked on similar salvage projects with Iglulingmiut. Then in 1989 Carolyn MacDonald had the idea of forming a field school, and the next year the field school was started. We now have a course that is recognized by the Department of Education; students receive credits toward their diplomas at the grade 10, 11, and 12 levels.

As you heard from Louis Tapardjuk, Igloolik has a rich cultural heritage which goes back over 4,500 years. There are several ways to learn about this past: one of the most important of these is the oral history maintained by the elders. Archaeology is another important way to gain access to the past. Through archaeology we can give a voice to those who lived in the far distant past, whose own voices have been quiet for centuries.

Often when people discuss archaeology they focus on the artifacts – the very visual things that we find. Archaeologists need the artifacts to try to understand the past; but just as important, and often forgotten, is the context.

The context is where the artifact is found and what other things are found nearby. Without it we lose much of what we can say about the past.

Take a harpoon head from Igloolik, for example: we can say how old it is, but this doesn't bring the ancient past back to life. If, however, we find the same harpoon

head in a four thousand year old tent ring, and men's tools are found close by and women's in another area, and the animal bones found are all those of seal pups – then we can begin to put the past together. The harpoon head was used by a family living in this tent ring at the time seal pups are born. The men worked on one side of the house while the women worked on the other. This is just a small example. The more we know about the context of the artifacts we excavate, the more we can learn about the past.

The main purpose of our field school is to provide Igloolik students with an opportunity to appreciate their area's rich cultural heritage from an archaeological perspective as well as from the perspective of their elders. A secondary objective is to increase the level of understanding and appreciation of the island's archaeology. Therefore each summer's excavation concludes with an exhibit similar to the one you saw last night. It is entirely put together by the students on the course, who choose how to exhibit the material and what artifacts to display. They also interpret the material and write all the captions.

Archaeology requires the use of many different skills. This field school teaches the students some of these, as well as reinforcing skills they have learned in school and at home, such as:

- listening to and respecting their elders
- mapping and surveying
- scientific recording
- keeping a daily record of their activities
- photography
- mathematics
- geology
- geography
- biology
- analysing animal bones
- making stone tools from angmaaq (flint) and tunnuujaq (quartz)

Each year we try new things. Last summer the students learned about moulding and casting to make copies of artifacts. This next summer we hope to include making tools from uluksarnaq (slate) using kangiliqjuat (honing stones).

As I mentioned before this course is recognized by the GNWT Department of Education. If any other community is interested in running a similar program, please let us know. This year Carolyn MacDonald can get funding to visit other communities to demonstrate how our course is organised, how we evaluate our students, and what would be needed to run a similar program.

This program would not be possible without the support and help of many groups. We would like to thank the community of Igloolik, Ataguttaaluk School, the Baffin Divisional Board of Education, the Access to Archaeology Program, and the Science Institute of the Northwest Territories.

Thank you for the invitation to attend this conference. I am always very happy to be in Igloolik.

Paul Antone: The Access to Archaeology Program

The Government of Canada's Archaeological Heritage Policy states that archaeological sites and artifacts, their relationship to the land and to each other, constitute the archaeological heritage that documents the lives of the people who have lived in Canada over the last 20,000 years.

As our heritage is a source of inspiration and knowledge, the Department is committed to protecting and promoting appreciation of this heritage. The access to Archaeology program contributes to these objectives by:

- enhancing the public's awareness of and access to archaeology
- encouraging more aboriginal people to assume direct responsibility for archaeological resources

In order to accomplish these objectives the program has established the following grants components:

1-Aboriginal Training in Archaeological Resource Management: This component supports and encourages Aboriginal peoples to assume direct responsibility for the management of archaeological resources. Grants may be provided to assist in the training of Aboriginal people in various aspects of archaeological resource management or to provide opportunities to gain practical experiences.

In all cases, the priority will be given to projects that are providing training to candidates whose educational background or current employment is related to heritage or archaeological resource management or those who have expressed an interest in pursuing employment in this field.

2-Public Awareness: supports and promotes Canada's heritage resources and supports the enlightenment of Canadians about the importance of preserving Canada's heritage. Grants may be given to assist in the promotion of Canada's rich archaeological heritage through publications and such public awareness activities as conferences, workshops, or archaeological participation programs.

Maximum Amount

Grants will be awarded on a cost-shared basis. Other than external sources of funding, internal revenues of applicants and in-kind donations may be considered eligible as cost-sharing. The program may fund:

- 70 percent of a project where there is no field work, up to a maximum of \$15,000; or,
- for projects involving field work, the program may match the amount of funding received from other sources, up to a maximum of \$20,000.

Deadlines

- October 1 for Aboriginal Training in Archaeological Resource Management applications
- February 1 for Public Awareness applications

We are fairly liberal in our interpretation of what archaeological projects are eligible; but we feel it is essential to discuss your project ideas with us before submitting your application. For further information on the program, or to discuss your ideas, you can contact Mr. A. Paul Antone, Chief, Access to Archaeology Program at (613) 998-3593, or Mr. Marc Bédard, Program Officer at (613) 991-9044.

Bjarne Gronnow: Archaeology, Museums, and Education in Greenland

Introduction

Since the beginning of Home Rule in 1979, when Greenland took over full responsibility for the administration of its cultural heritage, the importance and visibility of archaeology and ethnology has significantly increased. This is reflected in the rapidly growing number of local museums since the 1970's, the advanced legislation on the protection of sites and monuments, the many research projects, and in the establishing of an academic education programme in Inuit cultural history at the Greenland University (Ilisimatusarfik).

Museums

The first ideas about museums in Greenland were born in the Council for South Greenland back in 1913 (Schultz Lorentzen 1989), but the first Greenlandic museum, in Nuuk, did not open until fifty years later. An enthusiastic local museum association stood behind this initiative – and this has characterized the formation of museums in Greenland ever since. The museums in Greenland are all based on local initiatives. Even the present Greenland National Museum and Archive (Nunatta Katersugaasivia Allagaateqarfialu) started as a local museum association in 1956. In 1967 it was declared an official state subsidized museum, and in 1981 it became the National Museum of Greenland.

The management structure of the Greenlandic museums can briefly be described this way: at the top is the Minister of Culture and Education, in the Greenland Parliament. She appoints the members of the Museum Board of Greenland, which decides the main principles for museum policy and administration. The Commission also decides whether a local museum can be recognized as a Home Rule subsidized museum.

On the community level the local council appoints a museum committee consisting of local council members, officials, and members of the local museum association. The local museum committee is responsible for employing an academically trained keeper, the budget, and the long term planning of the activities. The National Museum of Greenland evaluates these plans, gives the required permis-

sion for archaeological excavations, and advises and assists with technical matters, especially conservation. This central museum also gathers and updates all information on protected sites and monuments in a central database.

The National Museum of Greenland is collaborating with the Danish National Museum in many respects, including exhibitions and conservation. The most interesting collaboration involves the return of ethnographic and archaeological collections to Greenland (Rosing and Haagen 1986, Andreasen 1988). The political decision was made in 1983: it was agreed that finds and information from the comprehensive collection at the Ethnological Department should be returned to Greenland, in such a way that both the interests of Greenlanders and Danes would be respected, and that both countries would have representative collections (Schultz-Lorentzen 1989).

This and other aspects of co-operation between Greenlandic and Danish museums is managed by the Denmark-Greenlandic Museum Commission, which has six members from each country, and is headed by the director of the Greenland National Museum, Emil Rosing. This model of returning museum material has worked well and might be useful elsewhere in the arctic.

As a guest researcher for the museums in Greenland I find that Inuit there are well informed and interested in prehistory and history. This is mainly due to the active local museums and their connection with the public schools.

Arctic Archaeology at the Ilisimatusarvik and the University of Copenhagen
Introductory courses in Arctic Archaeology are part of the three year Bachelor program at the Ilisimatusarfik. Ten or fifteen students are now enrolled in this program, and typically two or three each year show a particular interest in archaeology. Their interest has been increased by the opportunity to do field work, especially through a field course organised by the universities in Nuuk and Copenhagen, in which Greenlandic and Danish students have participated.

For Ilisimatusarfik graduates wishing to obtain a graduate degree in archaeology the University of Copenhagen offers a two year MA course in Arctic Archaeology focussing on Greenland.

Problems and the Future

While much is positive regarding museums and archaeology, we are facing some problems. One is the difficulty of recruiting young Greenlanders to the MA program in archaeology; and having an MA is a precondition to becoming keeper of an official museum in Greenland. As I have mentioned only a few of the fifteen museums are headed by Inuit; the rest are run by academically trained Danes. This situation seems likely to continue for several years. Archaeology and museums cannot compete with all the other options Greenlandic society offers an academically trained young Greenlander.

We are also facing the basic problem of the role of archaeology and museums in modern Inuit society. The structure and goals of the Greenlandic museums and the relevant legislation have been transferred directly from Denmark, and are

based on European values. This is also true for our academic teaching programs in Nuuk and Copenhagen. I look forward to a much needed debate on the future role of archaeology and museums in the arctic.

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